

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 088319
ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY S/P:MASPIEGEL
APPROVED BY SECRETARY
AF:RMMOOSE
P:GMOOSE
S/P:ALAKE
S/S-O:JETHYDEN

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 088319

EXDIS; FOR LOW; CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: RH, UK, PDEV

SUBJECT: RHODESIA -- GUIDELINES FOR LOW-GRAHAM MISSION

1. FOLLOWING IS SUGGESTED FRAMEWORK FOR YOUR TALKS WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND SALISBURY PARTIES. WE UNDERSTAND THAT GRAHAM DOES NOT HAVE SPECIFIC INSTRUCTIONS. YOU SHOULD COORDINATE WITH HIM BEFORE TAKING APPROACH ALONG THESE LINES.

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2. MAJOR OBJECTIVES

A. SECURE THE PUBLIC PATRIOTIC FRONT COMMITMENT TO ALL-PARTIES MEETING, WHICH THE FRONT LINE HAS PROMISED WOULD BE FORTHCOMING IN ADVANCE OF OWEN/VANCE MEETING; SECURE SALISBURY PARTIES' AGREEMENT TO ATTEND ALL-PARTIES MEETING

AND EGOTIATE SERIOUSLY FOR AN INCLUSIVE SETTLEMENT.

B. DETERMINE IN ADVANCE OF ARUSHA MEETING THE DEGREE OF PATRIOTIC FRONT WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT THE AAP; LAY GROUNDWORK FOR PROGRESS ON KEY ISSUES AT ARUSHA MEETING.

C. DISCUSS WITH FRONT LINE POTENTIAL PROBLEM AREAS AND OBTAIN THEIR HELP IN ASSURING A PRODUCTIVE ARUSHA MEETING.

D. CREDIBLY MAINTAIN UK/US COMMITMENT TO AAP PRINCIPLES; CONTINUE TO HOLD OPEN PROCEDURES SUGGESTED IN AAP AS BEST WAY TO ACHIEVE PRINCIPLES; YET SEEK UNDERSTANDING BY ALL PARTIES THAT DISCUSSION CANNOT BE CONFINED SOLELY TO AAP.

E. OBTAIN A DEEPER PICTURE OF THE PROBLEMS WHICH WILL ARISE IN ATTEMPTS TO FIND COMMON GROUND BETWEEN THE POSITIONS OF THE PF AND THOSE OF THE SALISBURY GROUP.

3. ARRANGEMENTS FOR MALTA FOLLOW-UP MEETING

A. LOCATION: NYERERE HAS SUGGESTED MEETING TAKE PLACE IN ARUSHA RATHER THAN DAR, AND WE HAVE AGREED.

B. TIME: WE PROPOSE THAT MEETING BEGIN APRIL 15 AND
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THAT IT COULD CARRY OVER TO MORNING OF APRIL 16.

C. AGENDA: CONTINUATION OF MALTA TALKS (MILITARY AND RELATED TRANSITION ARRANGEMENTS); AS AT MALTA, UK AND US WILL BE OPEN TO DISCUSS ANY ASPECT OF THE AAP WHICH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WISHES TO RAISE.

D. IF ASKED, CONVEY OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT PREM CHAND WILL BE AVAILABLE FOR THE MEETING (NKOMO EARLIER EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT THE UN BE REPRESENTED).

E. IF ASKED, ASSURE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND FRONT LINE THAT ARUSHA TALKS WILL GO FORWARD, EVEN IF THE INTERNAL PARTIES HAVE NOT AGREED TO AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING.

4. EXPLORING ARRANGEMENTS FOR POSSIBLE OWEN/VANCE MEETING WITH SALISBURY GROUP, IF THEY WISH TO HAVE ONE.

A. TIME: WE PROPOSE SUCH A MEETING BE HELD THE EVENING OF APRIL 16, AND IT COULD CARRY OVER TO THE MORNING OF APRIL 17.

B. LOCATION: WE WOULD PREFER THAT THIS MEETING NOT BE HELD IN RHODESIA.

YOU SHOULD IN ANY EVENT OBTAIN THEIR VIEW ON LIVINGSTON, GABORONE, LUSAKA, OR BLANTYRE AS VENUE. THIS QUESTION COULD BE EXPLORED WITH FRONT LINE AS WELL TO DETERMINE IF THEY HAVE PARTICULAR SENSITIVITIES ON THE ISSUE OF VENUE.

5. ARRANGEMENTS FOR ALL-PARTIES MEETING

A. WE PROPOSE THAT AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING BE OPENED BY OWEN AND VANCE APRIL 24 OR 25.

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B. SEEK COMMENTS ON POSSIBILITY OF MEETING IN MAURITIUS, NAIROBI OR VIENNA. (WE ASSUME SALISBURY GROUP WILL BE MOST DIFFICULT TO PLEASE ON LOCATION, AND WILL WANT SITE TO BE NEUTRAL AND ACCESSIBLE TO SALISBURY). WE BELIEVE NAIROBI IS PROBABLY BEST SITE.

C. IF ASKED WHAT DELEGATIONS WILL BE INVITED, WHEN WE SAY ALL PARTIES, WE MEAN JUST THAT. AS FAR AS WE ARE CONCERNED, IT IS INCIDENTAL WHETHER THE INTERNAL PARTIES DECIDE TO ATTEND AS INDIVIDUAL ORGANIZATIONS OR AS A SINGLE RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT TEAM. CHIRAU WOULD BE INCLUDED AS ONE OF THE SALISBURY PARTIES.

D. THUS FAR, MUGABE, NYERERE AND KAUNDA HAVE TAKEN DIFFERENT POSITIONS ON THE QUESTION OF HOLDING SEPARATE TALKS ON MILITARY AND POLITICAL ISSUES; EXCLUDING SOME PARTIES FROM THE FORMER. IF THIS IS RAISED YOU SHOULD INDICATE THE POSSIBILITY OF SUB-GROUPS DISCUSSING VARIOUS ISSUES DURING THE ALL-PARTIES MEETING. OBTAIN VIEWS BUT SEEK TO AVOID COMMITMENTS ON WHAT THE COMPOSITION OF SUCH GROUPS WOULD BE.

6. SUBSTANTIVE POINTS TO EXPLORE WITH PATRIOTIC FRONT BEFORE ARUSHA MEETING

A. SEEK CLARIFICATION OF PF POSITION ON AREAS WHERE FRONT LINE HAS SAID AGREEMENT CAN BE REACHED: POWERS OF RESIDENT COMMISSIONER; UN FORCE. OF PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE ARE AAP PROVISIONS ON THE FOLLOWING: RESIDENT COMMISSIONER'S AUTHORITY OVER EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, DEFENSE, INTERNAL SECURITY (PARTICULARLY POLICE STRUCTURE) AND IMPLEMENTATION OF RECOMMENDATIONS BY ELECTORAL COMMISSION; UN FORCE TO OBSERVE ACTIVITY OF
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LIBERATION FORCES AND OF RHODESIAN ARMY, UN POLICE
OBSERVER FORCE, AND UN FORCE'S ROLE IN MAINTAINING LAW
AND ORDER WHEN CALLED UPON BY RESIDENT COMMISSIONER.

B. DETERMINE TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE PATRIOTIC FRONT
POSITION ON KEY ISSUES NOT INCLUDED IN FRONT LINE PROMISES
OF AGREEMENT.

C. IF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT RAISES THE QUESTION OF WHETHER
OWEN AND VANCE WILL REACH AGREEMENTS AT ARUSHA THAT THEY
WILL CONSIDER BINDING IN AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING, YOU
SHOULD DRAW ON THE FOLLOWING: IN ARUSHA, WE WILL BE
SEARCHING FOR UNDERSTANDINGS WITH THE PF WHICH WE BELIEVE
MUST BE CONSISTENT WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF THE AAP. WE
WILL, IN THE ALL-PARTIES MEETING, PURSUE ANY SUCH UNDER-
STANDINGS TO GAIN GENERAL AGREEMENT FOR THEM. HOWEVER,
DISCUSSION CANNOT BE CONFINED SOLELY TO THE AAP AND
FLEXIBILITY WILL BE REQUIRED FROM ALL IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE
AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT. WE WILL MAINTAIN OUR POSITION THAT
THE AAP SHOULD BE THE BASIS FOR NEGOTIATION AND A SETTLE-
MENT. BUT THE SALISBURY PARTIES WOULD NEVER ATTEND A
MEETING IN WHICH WE PRESENTED OUR PROPOSALS ON A TAKE IT
OR LEAVE IT BASIS, WITHOUT ROOM FOR MUTUALLY AGREED
AMENDMENT.

7. WITH THE INTERNAL PARTIES

A. EXPLAIN THE POSITIONS TAKEN BY THE PATRIOTIC FRONT
REGARDING RESIDENT COMMISSIONER AND HIS POWERS; UN FORCE;
ALL-PARTIES MEETING, MAKING CLEAR THESE ARE SUBJECT TO
FURTHER DISCUSSION.

B. REAFFIRM OFFER FOR OWEN AND VANCE TO MEET WITH THE
SALISBURY PARTIES, IF INTERNAL PARTIES WISH.

C. MAKE CLEAR OUR CONTINUING COMMITMENT TO THE BASIC
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PRINCIPLES OF THE AAP, BUT ALSO THAT DISCUSSION AT AN ALL-
PARTIES MEETING WILL NOT BE CONFINED TO THE AAP.

D. EMPHASIZE THE THREAT OF ESCALATING WARFARE IF AN
INCLUSIVE SETTLEMENT CANNOT BE ACHIEVED, AND THE
IMPOSSIBILITY OF LIFTING SANCTIONS IF AN INTERNATIONALLY
ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT IS NOT REACHED. DRAW ON ARGUMENTS

LISTED IN SECTO 3073 AND 3076.

8. YOU SHOULD BRIEF THE FRONT LINE STATES ON YOUR
MEETINGS WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND SALISBURY GROUP AND
RAISE WITH THEM ANY PROBLEMS THAT HAVE COME UP. VANCE

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UNQUOTE VANCE

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Draft Date: 06 apr 1978
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TAGS: PDEV, RH, UK, (GRAHAM, JOHN), (LOW, STEPHEN)
To: LONDON LUSAKA MULTIPLE
Type: TE
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